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THE FALL OF McNAMARA

THE EDITORS

MAGIC DEATH FOR A MAGIC LIFE

EDUARDO GALEANO

"EL PATOJO"

CHE GUEVARA

Harbinger of a New Day?

BY HARVEY O'CONNOR

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Before you receive this issue of MR, copies to fill prepublication orders for Che Guevara's *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War* will be in the mail. As we have said in this space before, this is the most complete version of Che's war memoirs to appear in English; and it also contains a prologue, Fidel's speech of October 18 eulogizing Che, diagrams of several battles, photographs from the guerrilla period, end-paper maps of the guerrilla itinerary in the Sierra Maestra, and 26 remarkable letters written by Che between the end of the war and his departure from Cuba. Believing that every MR reader will want to own this book, we remind you that the prepublication price of $5 (list, $6.95) holds until publication date, February 12. The price to Associates is and will remain $3.50.

The special November issue commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution has evoked widespread interest, mostly favorable. A professor of economics at a large university, who teaches courses on the Soviet economic system, writes: "Congratulations on the November issue

(Continued on inside back cover)

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THE FALL OF McNAMARA

Why was McNamara kicked downstairs to the presidency of the World Bank? And what does it mean?

There is little doubt about the answer to the first question: McNamara was having increasing doubts about the war in Vietnam. To cite the apparently well informed account in *Newsweek* (December 11):

> For all his public support of the Johnson war policy . . . , McNamara's doubts about the conduct of the war are a familiar story to his liberal admirers. One friend remembers a conversation in which McNamara expressed haunting fears that his counsel to two Presidents to pursue the war may have been ill-advised. Last spring, according to another friend, Bob McNamara's wife "Marg" took him aside at a party to report that her husband was so at war with himself that they had been up until 4 a.m. discussing whether he should resign. Later in the evening, McNamara himself repeated the story. He felt, he said, that it was about time to bow out.
>
> Little goes on in Washington that Lyndon Johnson doesn't hear about—and McNamara's self-doubts were no secret at the White House. Increasingly in recent weeks, one source says, the President began to complain that McNamara was telling him one thing and Georgetown friends something else. Others report that Mr. Johnson lately referred sarcastically to his Defense Secretary as "that military genius" and that he complained to a visiting Senator: "McNamara's gone dovish on me."

Under these circumstances it was obviously smarter from Johnson's point of view to get rid of McNamara on the best available pretext rather than run the risk that the Secretary would resign at a politically embarrassing moment.

As to the meaning of McNamara's departure from the Pentagon, there is widespread agreement among knowledgeable observers. Reports Alvin Shuster from London in the *New York Times* of November 29th:

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The pending departure of Robert S. McNamara as United States Secretary of Defense has raised fears in European capitals that the administration plans a more adventuresome policy of escalation of the war in Vietnam. . . .

The main thrust of the reactions was that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had won out in a struggle for an escalated war and that Mr. McNamara was being moved out to make it possible. . . .

In Paris, officials and bankers took the view that the McNamara shift was one more indication that "rational views within the administration are losing out."

In Rome, those interviewed said that the Secretary was admired as one of the "last holdovers from the popular Kennedy administration and for his reputation for having established firm civilian control over the generals and admirals." They regarded his departure as opening the door for escalation of the war.

Similar views have been expressed by both right-wing and left-wing observers in the United States. According to Evans and Novak in their syndicated column of November 30th, "the reasons underlying McNamara's departure show that this is a time when the views of the military, not Pentagon civilians, are pre-eminent." And I. F. Stone states flatly: "Worse certainly lies ahead. I believe McNamara's going signals escalation." (*I. F. Stone's Weekly,* December 4.)

There is no reason that we know of to dispute this interpretation. But it does imply a paradox which should be recognized and if possible explained. No individual has been more closely identified with and responsible for the war in Vietnam than McNamara, as evidenced by the fact that it has often been called "McNamara's War." How does it happen that now, at a time of maximum United States involvement, this super-advocate and chief organizer develops doubts and misgivings of such a serious nature that the Johnson administration no longer dares to count on his continued loyal support?

In seeking an answer to this question we have to take into account McNamara's background and qualifications. He graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in the mid-1930's and went on to the Harvard Business School where he made such a favorable impression that he was immediately appointed to the faculty. During the Second World War he entered the Air Force, rising rapidly and while still under the age of 30 to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. There he was

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instrumental in introducing new management techniques. In 1946 he and a number of young associates, soon to be known as the "Whiz Kids," sold themselves as a group to the highest bidder, which happened to be the Ford Motor Company, then in bad shape and much in need of a managerial blood transfusion. At Ford, McNamara's rise was uninterrupted; and by the time Kennedy appointed him Secretary of Defense in 1960 he had attained the company's presidency, one of the highest positions in the United States corporate elite which in turn constitutes the leading echelon of the American ruling class.

Kennedy's choice was a logical one: McNamara was in every way an exemplary leader and spokesman for this class. Possessed of a brilliant intellect, trained in the country's most prestigious educational institutions, a proven success in both segments of the military-industrial complex, he was also a near-perfect embodiment of the values and aspirations of a "liberal imperialist" society. In commenting on his appointment to the World Bank, *Newsweek* (December 11) wrote: "For all his public identification with missiles and megadeath estimates, he is a humanist with an abiding concern for the kind of work the World Bank does in underdeveloped nations. He expressed that concern in a celebrated speech in Montreal in May 1966—tying global stability to the plight of the have-not nations."

The Montreal speech is indeed justly celebrated: it expresses perhaps more clearly than any statement of recent years the rationale of United States world policy.

The central theme of the Montreal speech is what purports to be a theory of violence in the modern world and how to reduce or eliminate it—surely a worthy and humane purpose. "In the last eight years alone," McNamara told his audience of newspaper editors, "there have been no less than 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence—each of them specifically designed as a serious challenge to the authority, or the very existence, of the government in question." And he went on to present statistics to show that the trend of such conflicts is upward (wherefore "the planet is becoming a more dangerous place to live on"); that there is a strong positive correlation between the poverty of a country (as measured by its per capita income) and the likelihood of its being involved in such

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violence; and that the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations is widening. Since most of the poorest, and hence most violence-prone, nations are in the southern hemisphere, "The conclusion of all this is blunt and inescapable: Given the certain connection between economic stagnation and the incidence of violence, the years that lie ahead for the nations in the southern half of the globe are pregnant with violence." Further: "Whether Communists are involved or not, violence transmits sharp signals through the complex ganglia of international relations; and the security of the United States is related to the security and stability of nations half a globe away." (Quotations are from the *New York Times* of May 19, 1966.) From this reasoning there follows a prescription for United States security (which McNamara treats as the self-evident, overriding goal of national policy): Help the poor countries to develop so that they can become stable and secure from violence, and in the meantime provide them with military protection against aggression or subversion which could prevent or interrupt what he calls the "modernization process."

It should be noted that in this view violence is not blamed on Communism: Communists, according to McNamara, merely take advantage of the natural and justified frustration and anger of the poor. The United States can therefore assure its own security not by a war on Communism but by a global war on poverty. National interest and humanitarianism therefore coincide: whatever is done to promote the one automatically promotes the other.

Liberals were of course enchanted with the Montreal speech—with its apparent abhorrence of violence, its espousal of generous United States aid to "modernizing" countries, and its deliberate playing down of the Communist menace. A radical, on the other hand, should have no trouble in seeing through the liberal phraseology to the hard-line counter-revolutionary core of McNamara's thought. The crux of the matter is that he singles out only one form of violence in the poor countries, that directed against governments, and totally neglects the infinitely more widespread and intensive forms of violence which are built into the very fabric of these societies. What about the violence that keeps landless peasants and slum-dwellers at

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literally starvation levels while small oligarchies live in air-conditioned luxury? Is it not violence, immediate and naked, when, in one of the potentially wealthiest countries in the world, a population of some 20 million has the following characteristics: illiteracy—over 70 percent; caloric intake—between 1200 and 1900 per day; incidence of schistosomiasis—90 percent; incidence of intestinal parasites—over 90 percent?*

The truth is that McNamara condones the ubiquitous violence of the status quo and condemns only the selective and, by comparison, miniscule violence directed at changing the status quo. The rising trend of the latter form of violence, far from being a bad thing, is the most hopeful development of our time: it shows that the wretched of the earth have had enough and that from now on violence will be increasingly used to liquidate exploitation rather than perpetuate it. And *this* is what alarms the chief architect of the greatest violence-making machine in history.

It is against this background that one must assess McNamara's role at the Pentagon. He assumed office as Secretary of Defense with two missions, one minor and one major. The minor mission was to reorganize the Department along lines indicated by the latest management theories. The major mission was vastly to expand the size, striking power, and flexibility of the whole military establishment. With the enthusiastic backing of the new President and close to $50 billion to spend, McNamara seems to have undertaken his assignment with no doubts about the practical omnipotence of American power. When the Southeast Asian policy of the Kennedy administration was being shaped in the Laos crises of 1961 and 1962, McNamara generally ranged himself alongside the Joint Chiefs of Staff in favor of military solutions. And the same was true as attention shifted increasingly to Vietnam. How, then, are

* The area is Northeast Brazil and the figures are from a recent report distributed by the Institute of Current World Affairs. Comparable conditions exist throughout the poorer countries—and even in parts of the richer countries, such as Mississippi and Appalachia in the United States itself.

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we to explain the later break with the generals which led to his downfall?*

Part of the answer seems to be that until fairly recently McNamara really believed in the possibility of winning a war of limited intervention in Southeast Asia. There is considerable evidence for this in Hilsman's book. For example, Hilsman reports on a strategy meeting in Honolulu which he attended as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs in April, 1963:

> General Harkins [then United States commander in Saigon] gave us all the facts and figures—the number of strategic hamlets established, number of Viet Cong killed, operations initiated by government forces, and so on. He could not of course, he said, give any guarantees, but he thought he could say by Christmas it would be all over. The Secretary of Defense was elated. He reminded me that I had attended one of the very first of these meetings, when it had all looked so black—and that had been only a year and a half ago. (pp. 466-467.)

Events of course took a different turn from that predicted by General Harkins. In the summer and fall of 1963 there occurred the first great Buddhist crisis and the overthrow of the Diem regime in Saigon. In the midst of this turmoil, McNamara and General Maxwell Taylor flew to Vietnam "to get the facts." On their return, according to Hilsman's account:

> McNamara and Taylor had come a long way in recognizing that political factors were more important in Vietnam than they had been willing to admit, but they had not come far enough to recognize that political factors were fundamental and overriding. They still really believed that the war was being won. They still really believed that military measures would suffice. And they stil really believed in statistics. . . . Their proposal was implicit rather than explicit, but it was clear. McNamara and the Joint Chiefs would agree to a policy of "pressure and persuasion" on the Diem regime, which they now thought was necessary, but they would agree only if the White House and the State Department

* The most revealing source we know of on this whole range of subjects is the book of Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of John F. Kennedy*, New York, 1967. Hilsman held high positions in the Kennedy administration and resigned from the State Department because of policy disagreements two months after Johnson came to power.

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would in turn agree to a public announcement that the Pentagon was right about how the "shooting war" had been going. McNamara's tone, when he read the proposed language of the announcement to the NSC on his return October 2, was almost brusque, as if he were delivering an ultimatum:

"The military program in South Vietnam has made progress and is sound in principle, though improvements are being energetically sought. . . .

"Secretary McNamara and General Taylor reported their judgment that the major part of the United States military task can be completed by the end of 1965. . . ." (p. 510.)

The statement was made public immediately after the meeting; and, as Hilsman says, it "came to haunt Secretary McNamara and the whole history of American involvement in Vietnam." (p. 511.) It is simply incredible that McNamara would have stuck his neck out this way if he had not believed in the substantial accuracy of the statement.

But this still does not explain the break with the military. They too may have believed in the possibility of winning a limited war of intervention. What they did *not* believe in—and this was apparently the main difference between them and McNamara—was the desirability of keeping it a limited war. One of the most important contributions of Hilsman's book is its authoritative revelation of military thinking on this possibly crucially important point. After explaining that "to many of the higher-ranking American military, the Korean War was a frustrating humiliation," Hilsman goes on to state that

> by 1961 it was a shibboleth among the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the United States ought never again to fight a limited war on the ground in Asia or perhaps never again to fight any kind of war on the ground in Asia. So often was the view expressed, in fact, that people in Washington began to speak of the "Never Again" Club. . . . The general thrust of their memoranda seemed to imply that they were demanding an advance commitment from the President that, if they agreed to the use of American force and there were any fighting at all, then there would be no holds barred whatsoever—including the use of nuclear weapons. (p. 129.)

This was written in connection with the Laos crisis of 1961. As time went on, the "Never Again" attitude hardened, with the significant difference that as American forces became increasingly involved in the fighting in Vietnam its meaning

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gradually narrowed down to "never again fight a *limited* war on the ground in Asia." In the light of what we now know, we can take Hanson Baldwin's famous article in the *New York Times Magazine* of February 21, 1965, as a sort of public declaration of the new strategic doctrine, supplanting what had long been conventional military wisdom to avoid committing United States forces to a ground war on the Asian mainland. At the time we speculated that this might be the meaning of the article. Noting that in the past it had always been the Army which had been the chief opponent of getting involved in an Asian ground war, we wrote:

> There is now reason to believe that this opposition on the part of the Army has been modified and perhaps abandoned altogether. Most important in this connection is the article by Hanson W. Baldwin in the *New York Times Magazine* of February 21st, advocating a vastly increased commitment of American forces [up to a million men] to the war in Vietnam. . . . Baldwin, the paper's military editor, is known to have close connections in the Pentagon and has not acquired the reputation of being a spokesman for only one of the services. While one cannot be certain, it nevertheless seems likely that Baldwin's advocacy of an all-out effort reflects the views of all three services. (MR, April, 1965, p. 798.)

We can now be certain: *the United States military wants an unlimited war on the Asian mainland.*

We do not know when McNamara began to have doubts about the possibility of winning a limited war in Vietnam; but once he did, it was logical that he should part company with the professional military people. He is a business man, not a fighting man. Not only has he brought business methods into the Pentagon but, more important, he sees the military machine as the instrument of the socio-economic system, to be used in furtherance of the interests of the beneficiaries of the system. This is the traditional view of the American bourgeoisie, enshrined in the constitutional provision for civilian control over the armed forces; and it accurately reflects the way American capitalism has functioned on the world stage since the founding of the Republic. In this sense McNamara is simply a traditionalist. To account for his break with the generals and admirals, we need only credit him with the capacity to understand that

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an unlimited war on the Asian mainland, far from being in the interests of the American Empire is the clearly marked road to Decline and Fall.

As this analysis implies, what is new in the present situation is the emergence as an important force in American society of militarism in the classic sense, that is to say, of a group of professional military commanders who see the military establishment not merely as the servitor of capitalist-imperialist interests but also as an autonomous entity with a life and goals of its own. For the most part, of course, there have been no serious conflicts in the postwar period between capitalist-imperialist interests and the goals of the militarist faction, a fact which has permitted the latter to grow to its present dimensions and strength almost unnoticed. But now the militarists' goals have come to encompass the fighting and presumably in some sense the winning of an unlimited war of conquest on the Asian mainland. We do not pretend to be able to give a full explanation of this development, but some of the factors at work are fairly clear. There is the desire to use to the full the huge engine of destruction which has been built up since the demobilization following the Second World War; and since attacking the Soviet Union would be risking nuclear annihilation, Asia is the only suitable theater. There is the thirst for revenge for the "defeat" in the Korean War.* There is the feeling, shared by many non-militarists, that sooner or later war with China is inevitable anyway and that it may be better that it should come sooner rather than later. And finally there is a certain hankering for the enhanced power and prestige which inevitably accrue to the military in an all-out war situation.

Civilian bourgeois leaders like McNamara have no interest in using the war machine simply because it exists, and they obviously do not want to lose real power to the military. But an even more important reason for their rejecting the idea of an unlimited Asian war is their awareness of the global char-

* In this there is a strong element of racism, clearly hinted at in Hilsman's comment on the sense of humiliation caused by Korea: "The American Army had been fought to a standstill by Asians, and by Asians whose arms and equipment were somewhat primitive by American standards." (p. 128.)

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acter of American interests. All-out involvement in East and Southeast Asia means all-out weakness in South and West Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America. Rival imperialists and ever-growing numbers of revolutionaries in the underdeveloped countries are ready and eager to dismember the American Empire, piece by piece or all at once, if and when the United States gets hopelessly bogged down in a widespread and protracted war on the Asian mainland. It was undoubtedly this more than anything else which played an increasingly determining role in McNamara's thinking as the mirage of victory in a limited war receded into the background.

What about Johnson's role in all this?

To begin with, it is important to recognize that he has been one of the most extreme hawks on Vietnam from the very beginning. As Vice President, he was sent in May, 1961, by Kennedy on a tour of Asian countries, in the course of which he hailed Diem as the Churchill of Southeast Asia. On his return home, according to Hilsman, "the Vice President recommended a fundamental decision to 'move forward promptly with a major effort to help these countries defend themselves.' Time was running out, he felt, and the United States had to 'pull back our defenses to San Francisco and a "Fortress America" concept' or go ahead with a full, forward strategy." (p. 422.) A few months later General Maxwell Taylor headed a mission to Vietnam which recommended, among other things, "the introduction into Vietnam of over ten thousand regular American ground troops, initially, and accepting the possibility that as many as six full divisions might eventually be required." This was "essentially the same large-scale commitment that Vice President Johnson had recommended"; and several sentences later, Hilsman speaks of the "Taylor-Johnson policy." (p. 423.) Except in public speeches during the 1964 election campaign, Johnson continued to hew to this Pentagonian line on Vietnam; and the firing of McNamara shows that if he has had any second thoughts, he has not shown any disposition to act on them. For it is clear that if he had wanted to resist the generals, McNamara would have been his most valuable ally.

How can we explain that Johnson, a civilian and always a faithful servitor of the corporate establishment, now seems to

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be moving with the militarists toward an all-out war on the Asian mainland? Partly, perhaps, because he believes the nonsense put out by Westmoreland, Bunker et al that the war is going well for the United States: in other words, he may still not have lost his faith in the possibility which McNamara also used to believe in, that victory can be won in a limited war. Partly no doubt because at heart he is the kind of small-town chauvinist who easily succumbs to militarism. But most likely the main reason is that he is caught in a political trap from which there is quite literally no escape. He cannot now go before the people and say that the whole escalation policy for which he has been responsible these last four years has been a ghastly mistake. And he cannot bring the situation in Vietnam under control. Under the circumstances, he gives in to the military a little at a time and hopes for a miracle.

Where this is leading is perfectly clear: to a victory for the military and an all-out war on the Asian mainland, involving China certainly and possibly the Soviet Union as well. The other side of the coin, as we have already noted, will be the weakening and break-up of the American Empire in other parts of the world. At home all existing tensions and contradictions will be vastly intensified and many new ones created, with consequences which boggle the imagination.

One can only conclude that the downfall of the American Empire and the end of United States capitalism may be much closer at hand than we have been accustomed to think. It will be at best a frightful process, but one cannot deny at any rate that these monstrous social formations deserve the fate which now threatens them, and that their destruction would at least make it possible for mankind to reconstruct in peace. Perhaps on a very long view of history it is better that it should be so.

Events may still take another course, to be sure. There are undoubtedly many members of the ruling class who are at least dimly aware of where the country is now headed. "It is difficult to conceive, personally," writes George F. Kennan in the Autumn, 1967, issue of *Harvard Today,* "of any outcome of our present efforts and approaches that would be less than disastrous." The departure of Robert S. McNamara from the Pentagon will doubtless cause others to take alarm. He was, as

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we noted earlier, the very embodiment of the qualities which the American bourgeoisie holds in highest esteem. As long as he remained at the helm in the Pentagon and assured the nation that all was going well, there must have been many, especially in the corporate elite, who were willing to put aside their doubts and take his assurances at face value. What will they think now? And more important, what will they do now? Will they attempt to make use of the opportunity offered by the 1968 election to replace Johnson with a Republican who might be pledged, at least behind the scenes, to fight to restore civilian supremacy over the military, which of course would necessarily involve withdrawing American forces from Vietnam?

We do not know. We do not even know whether a fight to restore civilian supremacy could now be successful: the militarists may already be firmly in the saddle and able to control *any* president who may be elected. After all, we have no de Gaulles in this country, and the institutional machinery for asserting control over the Pentagon and its allies in the CIA and the armaments industries is, to say the least, weak and untested. As of now, at any rate, the odds would seem to favor victory for those who favor plunging ahead into the great Asian adventure.

In conclusion, we can only add what we have said in these pages before. We in the radical and peace movements are not going to be able to decide the outcome of conflicts and struggles in the United States ruling class now or in the near future. It is better we should not get mixed up in them but rather should concentrate our limited resources and energies on educating, through words and deeds, as lare a part of the American people as possible to the true nature of the system under which they live. To understand it is to understand the necessity to get rid of it.

(December 14, 1967)

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MAGIC DEATH FOR A MAGIC LIFE

BY EDUARDO GALEANO

I believe in the armed struggle as the only solution for peoples who fight to free themselves, and I am consistent with my beliefs. Many will call me an adventurer, and that I am; but of a different kind—of those who risk their skins to test their truths. It may be that this will be the end. I don't seek it, but it is within the logical calculus of probabilities. If it should be so, I send you a last embrace. I have loved you much, but I have not known how to express my affection; I am extremely rigid in my actions, and I think that sometimes you did not understand me. Besides, it wasn't easy to understand me, but just believe me today. Now, a will that I have polished with an artist's loving care will sustain weak legs and tired lungs. I will do it. . . . Give a thought once in awhile to this little soldier of fortune of the 20th century.

When these lines, sent by Che Guevara to his parents a short time after his disappearance, reached Buenos Aires, his mother, Celia, was already dead. She had died without being able to communicate with her son. She didn't receive this "last embrace," this farewell which contained the premonition of the news that has just shaken the entire world. "In our difficult job of revolutionary, death is a frequent accident," he had once written, on the occasion of the death of an intimate friend; his letter to the Tricontinental ends by greeting the death that will arrive, providing that it will give rise to "new cries of battle and victory." A thousand times he said that to die was so very possible and, nevertheless, so very insignificant. He knew this very well: regarding his own successive deaths and resurrections, he himself asserted that he had seven lives.

This article appears, along with the long 1964 interview which Eduardo Galeano had with Che Guevara, in the forthcoming book *Reportajes,* to be published by the Montevideo house of Tauro. Eduardo Galeano is now head of the Montevideo University Press. The translation from the Spanish is by Nell Salm.—The Editors

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The last one ran out as he had proposed. He placed himself in the path of death without asking for permission or excuses: he went to meet it in the dusty, broken land of the Yuro, at the head of men surrounded by the Army; his legs were shot from under him and he continued fighting, seated a couple of hours, until the M-1 leapt from his hands, destroyed by a direct hit. Despite the courage of the handful of guerrillas who fought for the wounded man from mid-afternoon until the first shadows of evening, he was captured alive by the many soldiers. The bodies of Che's comrades, who fought in hand-to-hand combat, would later be exhibited at his side, with heads beaten in by gun butts and bodies full of bayonet wounds.

After the battle, at the end of a night and a day, the waiting became insupportable in the military camp in the hollow of Higueras. Lieutenant Pra could no longer stand the challenging silence of that sly smile and that invincible, slightly melancholy look: he placed the barrel of his 38-caliber pistol against Che's left side and stopped his heart with a single shot. The Barrientos government has not yet said if it will pay the patriotic lieutenant the $5,000 offered as a reward. A few hours later the still warm body, tied to the landing runners of a helicopter, was borne over the inhospitable land fissured by the sun to where the mountains open toward the Amazon River basin. In the "Señor Malta" hospital of the little town of Vallegrande, Che was exhibited to a group of newspapermen and photographers. Afterwards, he disappeared, along with a fat, bald-headed man who was giving orders in English. A liter of formaldehyde had been injected into the cadaver. Barrientos said that Che had been buried, while Ovando declared that he had been cremated—in a place where there are no technical means of doing so. They announced that they had cut off his hands. In the end, the Bolivian government was left with two embalmed fingers and photostatic copies of the *guerrillero's* diary; the fate of the body and of the original diary is a CIA secret.

Innumerable legends have already been woven around the life and the death, so full of contradictions and mystery, of this hero of our time: some, very few, are the fruit of the unlimited

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capacity for infamy of certain bastards who swoop like crows over the memory of Che dead, although they would have been incapable of looking Che, alive, in the eye; others, almost all, come from the popular imagination, which already celebrates the immortality of the fallen hero before the infinite invisible altars of our Latin America.

"I began to think of the best way to die in that moment in which all seemed lost. I remembered an old story of Jack London, where the protagonist, leaning against a tree trunk, prepares to end his life with dignity." Thus wrote Che, remembering a decisive instant in the slaughter that followed the landing of the *Granma* on the Oriente coast in Cuba. Eleven years have passed since that first brush with death. Now, one by one, I examine the radiophotos which have caught this immobile body from every angle, the holes where the lead penetrated the flesh, the smile at the same time ironic and tender, proud and full of compassion, which a worse-than-cretin has confused with a sneer of cruelty. I remain with my eyes fastened on the *guerrillero's* face, the magnificent face of this Christ of the Río Plata, and I feel like congratulating it.

On the day of his baptism of fire, in a place in Cuba called Alegría de Pío, Che made the decision that would definitively mark his destiny: "I had before me a knapsack full of medicines and a box of bullets; together the two were too heavy to carry. I took the box of bullets, leaving the knapsack behind, when I crossed the clearing between me and the cane field." In the already mentioned farewell to his parents, Che said, "Almost ten years ago, I wrote you another farewell letter. As I remember, I lamented not being a better soldier and a better doctor; the second no longer interests me. I'm not such a bad soldier."

He chose a post in the revolution's front line, and he chose it forever, without allowing himself the benefit of doubt nor the right to change his mind; this is the unique case of a man abandoning a revolution already made by him and a handful of comrades, to throw himself into the launching of another. He didn't live for the victory but for the struggle, the ever-necessary, never-ending struggle against indignity and hunger. He didn't even allow himself the privilege of looking back at

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the beautiful fire rising from the bridges he had burned behind him. Che never lost any time.

It wasn't because of asthma, as a Buenos Aires daily thought; nor was it the fruit of the oblique and sophisticated resentment of a patrician who had lost social status, as a mass-circulation magazine insinuated. Che's apprenticeship in solidarity can easily be traced in his life, and the word *solidarity* offers the only key to understanding him, although it doesn't appear in the vocabulary of Onganía's scribes.

An infinite number of possibilities fanned out before the eyes of the young Guevara, recently come from the mountains of Córdoba to the asphalt of Buenos Aires. He worked twelve hours a day, six to support himself and six studying; he was a brilliant medical student, but at the same time he read complicated treatises on higher mathematics, wrote poems, and undertook ambitious archeological investigations. At 17 he began to edit a "Philosophical Dictionary," because he found out that the students, and he himself, needed it.

In 1950, a picture of Che, who at that time was signing his name "Ernesto Guevara Serna," appeared in an advertisement in *El Gráfico*, along with a letter sent to the representatives of "Micron" bicycle motors. In it, Che said that he had traveled 4,000 kilometers, the length of 12 Argentine provinces, and that the little motor had responded well.

The trade union leader, Armando March, youthful friend of Che, has recalled what when Ernesto was a student, his mother had a breast operation; it was feared that she had a tumor. Ernesto improvised in his house a small laboratory where he began to make feverish experiments with guinea pigs, slide specimens, and oil solutions in an attempt to save her life. With March, Che had wanted to go to Paraguay to fight against Morínigo. Intelligent, with many interests, with an innate, seductive power that his later life would only confirm and strengthen, the young Ernesto Guevara was no resentful dandy but a young man open to adventure, without clear political ideas, and with a pronounced tendency to demonstrate to himself that he could do the impossible: the continual asthma attacks—which for so many years obliged his father to sleep

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seated at his bedside so that the son could pass the night reclining on his breast—did not prevent him from playing football and rugby, although at the end of the games his friends often had to carry him off the field. Asthma kept him from going to school after his fourth year, but arrangements were made for him to take the examinations on his own, and he later achieved an excellent average in high school. The war against asthma was the first war that Che fought and won—won in the sense that he never permitted the asthma to make his decisions for him.

This great Latin American fighter was declared unfit for military service in the Argentine army. Consequently, Che crossed the Andes by motorbike and entered Peru on foot, attracted by the legend of Macchu Picchu. The patients in a leprosarium constructed a raft for him and his friend Alberto Granados, who together followed a river from the heart of the Brazilian jungle to Colombia. In Iquitos they were football coaches. Deported from Bogotá, Che finally reached Miami in an airplane transporting race horses.

A second trip through Latin America took him to Bolivia—to the streets of La Paz where miners paraded in triumph with sticks of dynamite at their belts—and later to Guatemala. "We couldn't see *el Che* in Ernesto Guevara," some Guatemalan revolutionaries who had known him during the time told me years later. He was then only a functionary in the agrarian reform, or an Argentine confined to bed in a pension full of exiles from Peru's APRA. On the other hand, Ernesto Guevara did discover *el Che* in Guatemala; he found himself in the euphoria and the defeat of the Guatemalan revolution, in the victories and errors of the process of reform which was taking place, and in the impotent rage with which he witnessed the fall of the Arbenz regime. Paradoxically, it was a boat from United Fruit's White Fleet which had carried Guevara to the country where his definitive socialist passion would be revealed.

He could have been a distinguished doctor from the North End or a well-known specialist in blood or skin diseases, a professional politician or a pampered technocrat; he could have been a coffee-house charlatan, as brilliant as he was mocking

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and audacious, or an adventurer enjoying adventure for its own sake. Years later, he could have chosen to remain the idolized leader of a revolution already consecrated by success.

The Right is always eager to push the revolutionaries onto a psychoanalyst's couch, to diagnose rebellion by reducing it to the clinical frame of some basic frustration, as if militancy and commitment were no more than the result of an unchanneled aggressivity, the product of a warped personality. Che was the living example that revolution is the purest form of brotherhood, but also the most demanding, the most difficult. It was not a pathological outlet for a young gentleman from a "good family" which had seen better days, but a continuous act of love and generosity performed without regard for personal interest; very few men in the history of our time have renounced so much, and so repeatedly, in exchange for one or two hopes and without asking for any personal reward. Without asking for anything except first place at the hour of sacrifice and danger and last place at the hour of recompense and security. Very few men in the history of our time have had so many alibis to offer their consciences: the relentless attacks of asthma or the extremely important role he played in the construction of socialism in Cuba. He himself has recounted how difficult it was for him sometimes to climb a mountain during the Sierra Maestra period: "I remember the efforts the *guajiro* Crespo made to help me walk in those moments: when I couldn't go any further and asked to be left behind, he said, using the choice vocabulary of our troops: 'You shit of an Argentine, you're going to walk or be driven along by my gunbutt.' " Despite the permanent challenge of asthma, Che had known how to be the best student of Colonel Bayo, in Mexico, when Fidel Castro's men were training themselves for the revolution. In those days in Mexico, Che earned his living taking pictures of children in the plazas and selling small prints of the Virgin of Guadalupe; deported by the government, he fled from the airport and re-established contact with his comrades.

Before Mexico, he had also begun another secret war, the fight against cynicism and the lack of faith that seem inherent in the mocking spirit of the people of Río Plata, particularly

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those from Buenos Aires. When, in a cafe in Costa Rica, he listened to a bunch of noisy young Cubans talking about the assault on Moncada and of the revolution that was going to be made against Batista, Che commented: "Why don't they tell another cowboy story?" In Mexico these same youths introduced him, some time later, to a giant recently liberated from the prison on the Isle of Pines. His name was Fidel Castro.

Recently, in Buenos Aires, I had the undeserved privilege of reading the letter that Che's mother tried to send him shortly before she died, and which never reached its destination because Guevara had already disappeared for the time being. As if she sensed her impending death, in that letter the mother announced that she would tell him what she had to say as naturally and directly as possible, and she asked him to answer in kind: "I don't know if we have lost the candor with which we used to treat each other or if we never had it; we have always spoken to each other in that lightly ironic tone which we who live on the banks of La Plata use, aggravated by our own still more private family code. . . ." Che must have given her some intimation of his immediate destiny, because in another paragraph Celia says: "Yes, you would always be a foreigner. It seems to be your permanent destiny."

A close friend of Che's mother explained it to me this way:

> Che's inner circle is very wide now in Córdoba and his girl friends are legion; if one were to believe them, Che's life wouldn't have been long enough to give each of them two kisses in a doorway. But the truth is that he had a tremendous magnetism. Do you realize that this boy, who listened to Vivaldi, read Heidegger, and travelled throughout the continent was tempted by practically every option? I think it was Trotsky, I'm not sure, who said that the most admirable revolutionary is the one who is in a position to choose something else, but who *prefers* the revolution. From that time on, solitude became, in a way, an obligation. He could not allow any tie to be as strong as the tie to the revolution itself. He always had a deep need for totality and purity.

And, in fact, this man, for whom the doors of professional and worldly success were wide open, became the most puritan of the Western revolutionary leaders. In Cuba, he was the Jacobin of the revolution: "Be careful, Che's coming!" the

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Cubans would warn, only half in jest. This need for totality and purity was translated into an insuperable capacity for personal sacrifice; he was so intransigent with himself that he did not permit himself a single weakness, a single accommodation, in order to have a solid basis for the great demands he made on others. He lacked the flexibility of Fidel Castro, who has given numerous proofs of his skill in handling political negotiations, from the time he made deals with God and the Devil on the way to winning power in the mountains and the plains. From the time he became a guerrilla fighter, Che seems to have lived by the slogan, "All or nothing!" It is not difficult to imagine the bitter struggles this refined intellectual had to wage against a consciousness frequently tempted by doubt, in order to gain finally this iron certainty, this astonishing ideological rigor.

"He is perhaps the most fascinating legend of Latin America since El Dorado," wrote the London *Times*. In Madrid a Falangist daily compared him with the *conquistadores,* for the breath-taking magnitude of his enterprise, and *Azul y Blanco,* the organ of Argentine right-wing nationalism, affirmed that he was "a nineteenth-century hero." Fidel Castro says he will never be able to speak of him in the past tense, and even General Ovando recognizes that he was "a hero in any part of the world." President René Barrientos, described, with reason, as an "idiot" by Che in his war diary, declares that "an idealist has died." The priest Hernán Benítez, who was Evita Perón's confessor, exalts the figure of the fallen chief in these terms: "As the Jews of the Old Testament believed in the immortality of the Prophet Elias, the medieval Spanish in that of the Cid Campeador and the Welsh in that of King Arthur, it is also possible that, in the years to come, the soldiers of the Third World will believe they feel the luminous presence of Che Guevara in the fury of the guerrilla battles."

I recall a certain phrase of Paul Nizan: "There is no great work that is not also an accusation against the world." The life of Che Guevara, so perfectly confirmed by his death, is, like all great works, an accusation, formed in this case of bullets aimed at a world, our world, which converts the majority of

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men into beasts of burden for the minority of men, and condemns the majority of countries to slavery and misery for the benefit of the minority of countries; it is also an accusation against the egoists, the cowards, the conformists who do not throw themselves into the adventure of changing it.

He that knows himself to be upright does not fear the death of a criminal; and shrinks from no punishment; his mind is not wrung with remorse for any disgraceful deed; he holds that death in a good cause is no punishment but an honor, and that death for freedom is glory.

—Spinoza

During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have invariably meted out to them relentless persecution and received their teaching with the most savage hostility, most furious hatred and a ruthless campaign of slanders. After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo, by way of "consolation" to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge.

—Lenin

You must live as you think or, sooner or later, you will think as you live.

—Paul Valery

All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win the world is for enough good men to do nothing.

—Edmund Burke

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"EL PATOJO"

BY CHE GUEVARA

A few days ago a cable brought the news of the death of some Guatemalan patriots, among them Julio Roberto Cáceres Valle.

In this difficult job of a revolutionary, in the midst of class wars which are convulsing the entire continent, death is a frequent accident. But the death of a friend, a comrade during difficult hours and a sharer in dreams of better times, is always painful for the person who receives the news, and Julio Roberto was a great friend. He was short and frail; for that reason we called him "El Patojo," Guatemalan slang meaning "Shorty" or "Kid."

El Patojo had witnessed the birth of our revolution while in Mexico and had volunteered to join us. Fidel, however, did not want to bring any more foreigners into that struggle for national liberation in which I had the honor to participate.

A few days after the Revolution triumphed, El Patojo sold his few belongings and, with only a small suitcase, appeared in Cuba. He worked in various branches of public administration, and he was the first Chief of Personnel of the Department of Industrialization of INRA (the National Institute of Agrarian Reform). But he was never happy with his work. El Patojo was looking for something different, he was seeking the liberation of his own country. The Revolution had changed him profoundly, as it had all of us. The bewildered boy who had left Guatemala without fully understanding the defeat had changed now to the fully conscious revolutionary.

The first time we met we were on a train, fleeing Guatemala, a couple of months after the fall of Arbenz. We were

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This is a chapter from the forthcoming book by Che Guevara (*Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*), published by MR Press and distributed by Grove Press. The translation is by Victoria Ortiz. Prepublication orders are now being filled. For prices, see p. 26 below.

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going to Tapachula, from where we could reach Mexico City. El Patojo was several years younger than I, but we immediately formed a lasting friendship. Together we made the trip from Chiapas to Mexico City; together we faced the same problems—we were both penniless, defeated, and forced to earn a living in an indifferent if not hostile environment.

El Patojo had no money and I only a few pesos; I bought a camera and, together, we undertook the illegal job* of taking pictures of people in the city parks. Our partner was a Mexican who had a small darkroom where we developed the films. We got to know all of Mexico City, walking from one end to another, delivering the atrocious photographs we had taken. We battled with all kinds of clients, trying to convince them that the little boy in the photo was really very cute and it was really a great bargain to pay a Mexican peso for such a marvel. Thus we ate for several months. Little by little the contingencies of revolutionary life separated us. I have already said that Fidel did not want to bring him to Cuba, not because of any shortcomings of his, but so as not to turn our army into an international force.

El Patojo had been a journalist, had studied physics at the University of Mexico, had left his studies and then returned to them, without ever getting very far ahead. He earned his living in various places, at various jobs, and never asked for anything. I still do not know whether that sensitive and serious boy was immensely timid, or too proud to recognize his weaknesses and his personal problems, to approach a friend for help. El Patojo was an introvert, highly intelligent, broadly cultured, sensitive. He matured steadily and in his last days put his great sensibilities at the service of his people. He belonged to the Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo [Guatemalan Labor Party] and had disciplined himself in that life—he was developing into a fine revolutionary. By then, little remained of his earlier hypersensitivity. Revolution purifies men, improves and develops them, just as the experienced farmer corrects the deficiencies of his crops and strengthens the good qualities.

After he came to Cuba we almost always lived in the same

* As foreigners, they did not have permission to work.

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house, as was proper for two old friends. But we no longer maintained the early intimacy in this new life, and I only suspected what was going on in his mind when I sometimes saw him earnestly studying one of the native Indian languages of his country. One day he told me he was leaving, that the time had come for him to do his duty.

El Patojo had had no military training; he simply felt that duty called him. He was going to his country to fight, gun in hand, somehow to reproduce our guerrilla struggle. It was then that we had one of our few long talks. I limited myself to recommending strongly these three things: constant movement, absolute mistrust, and eternal vigilance. Movement: that is, never stay put; never spend two nights in the same place; never stop moving from one place to another. Mistrust: at the beginning, mistrust even your own shadow, friendly peasants, informants, guides, contacts; mistrust everything until you hold a liberated zone. Vigilance: constant guard duty, constant reconnaissance; establishment of a camp in a safe place and, above all, never sleep beneath a roof, never sleep in a house where you can be surrounded. This was the synthesis of our guerrilla experience, the only thing—along with a warm handshake—which I could give to my friend. Could I advise him not to do it? With what right? We had undertaken something at a time when it was believed impossible, and now he saw that it had succeeded.

El Patojo left and, in time, the news of his death came. At the beginning we hoped that there had been a confusion of names, that there had been some mistake, but unfortunately his body had been identified by his own mother; there is no doubt that he is dead. And not only he, but a group of comrades with him, all of them as brave, as selfless, as intelligent perhaps as he, but not personally known to us.

Once again we taste the bitterness of defeat and we ask the unanswered question: why did he not learn from the experience of others? Why did those men not heed more carefully the simple advice which was given? We still do not know exactly what happened, but we do know that the region was poorly chosen, that the men were not physically prepared, that they were not mistrustful enough and, of course, that they were not

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vigilant enough. The repressive army surprised them, killed a few, dispersed the rest, then returned to pursue them, and virtually annihilated them. They took some prisoners; others, like El Patojo, died in battle. After losing their unity, the guerrillas were probably hunted down, as we had been before Alegría de Pío.

Once again young blood has fertilized the fields of America, to make freedom possible. Another battle has been lost; we must make time to weep for our fallen comrades while we sharpen our machetes. From the valuable and tragic experience of the cherished dead, we must firmly resolve not to repeat their errors, to avenge the death of each one of them with many victories, and to bring about total liberation.

When El Patojo left Cuba, he left nothing behind, nor did he leave any messages; he had few clothes or personal belongings to worry about. However, old mutual friends in Mexico brought me some poems he had written and left there in a notebook. They are the last verses of a revolutionary; they are, in addition, a love song to the Revolution, the homeland, and to a woman. To that woman whom El Patojo knew and loved in Cuba, are addressed these final verses, this injunction:

> Take it, it is only my heart
> Hold it in your hand
> And when the day dawns,
> Open your hand
> And let the sun warm it. . . .

El Patojo's heart has remained among us, in the hands of his beloved and in the loving hands of an entire people, waiting to be warmed beneath the sun of a new day which will surely shine for Guatemala and for all America. Today, in the Ministry of Industry where he left many friends, there is a small school of statistics, called in his memory "Julio Roberto Cáceres Valle." Later, when Guatemala is free, his beloved name will surely be given to a school, a factory, or a hospital, to any place where people fight and work in the building of a new society.

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HARBINGER OF A NEW DAY?

BY HARVEY O'CONNOR

The monolithic mindlessness of the AFL-CIO top brass was rudely disturbed when 523 delegates coming from 50 international unions and scores of district, state, and local federations and unions gathered in Chicago over the November 11 Veterans Day weekend (appropriately) to demand an end to the bombing of North Vietnam and negotiations with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace could not be tossed off as a reunion of labor oddballs. Harry Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremen objected to the "leadership" tag, on behalf of the rank and file. But there really was top leadership from the Amalgamated Clothing workers (ACWA), the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (AMC), the International Woodworkers (IWU), the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the West Coast ILWU. On the second level were 30 international union vice presidents and on the third level hundreds of city federation and local union delegates, many of them empowered by their constituents to protest the slaughterhouse in Vietnam.

The press could have been depended upon to ignore the Chicago assembly had the organizers not made that nearly impossible by bringing top newsworthy personalities—Senator McCarthy of Minnesota, who hovered on the point of announcing then and there his anti-Johnson candidacy for the White House, Senator Hartke of Indiana, John Kenneth Galbraith (the current best-selling professor), Norman Thomas, feeble of body but forthright in his demand for immediate withdrawal, Rear Admiral True (ret.), and Dr. Martin Luther King.

Harvey O'Connor, author and former editor of labor publications, attended the conference on which he reports in this article.

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The assembly was notable for being the first and highly impressive voice of dissent in "labor's" hitherto rigor-mortified body, but probably just as important, for being the first meeting in nearly 20 years of union men and women without respect for the American Separation of Labor. ILWU, UE, and Teamster representatives rubbed elbows with the orthodox. When Harry Bridges arose in the final session he was given an ovation which defied the official ostracism of the trade union left wing.

The left wing responded in kind. The UE restrained its locals from sending the hundred delegates who wanted to come, for fear of being suspected of packing the assembly. Actually everybody was on his best Sunday go-to-meeting behavior. At the final session many arose to voice their demands for immediate withdrawal as the only moral and logical solution to the Vietnam mess, and then politely announced that they would vote for the official resolution, which fell considerably short of their own desires.

Among the prime movers of the conference was veteran Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of ACWA, who warned that this assembly was in no sense a dual movement. Others who prepared the way were members of SANE, whose trade union division sponsored the meeting. It is likely that a few of the SANE top dogs in New York were dubious about this conclave where the cast-out Lucifers of the labor movement were welcomed, but the leaders of the conference were firm in their no-exclusion policy.

The assembly's policy statement spoke out against the toll exacted of United States dead and wounded, the incredible cost of the slaughter, the "enormous unconscionable" profits of the war corporations, the dismantling of programs aimed against mass poverty and for genuine equality, and the erosion of living standards caused by the war. The call was sounded for an "immediate and unconditional" end to the bombing of North Vietnam and a "clear and unambiguous statement of intention" by the administration to negotiate a settlement "with the parties directly involved in the conflict, including the National Liberation Front."

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The Veterans Day assembly is by no means to be a one-shot rally. In addition to chapters of SANE's trade union division already functioning in New York-New Jersey, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Louis, northern Ohio, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Oregon, Detroit, western Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, peace assemblies are to be organized in all major industrial centers. A national continuations committee representing most of the participating unions is to head up the anti-war operation, with suitable publications and other adjuncts of agitation. Moe Foner of New York Drug and Hospital Local 1199, served as coordinator for the assembly with Art Gundersheim of the Chicago ACWA as midwest executive secretary, assisted by Joyce Miller of the ACWA, Stanley Greenspan of the UAW, and John Jurkanin of the Meat Cutters. ACWA Joint Board offices in Chicago handled the arrangements for the conference which were held in the University of Chicago's imposing Center for Continuing Education.

The one really explosive hour in the conference came when Victor Reuther, director of the UAW's international affairs department, blew the lid off the unholy trinity of AFL-CIO-State Department-CIA subversion of labor movements around the globe. While the substance of Reuther's documented exposé has already appeared here and there in tag ends of the press, this was the first major attack at a national labor meeting on the Meany-Lovestone use of the dues-money of United States trade unionists to split and emasculate labor movements in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Most speakers had avoided any direct reference to the top AFL brass; Frank Rosenblum of ACWA, agitated by Reuther's speech, begged that it not be published in the official records of the conference. He was assured in the final session, amid turbulent applause, that it would be.

The final Sunday morning session was the only general meeting that afforded delegates a chance to speak out, although there was audience participation in the Saturday afternoon panel sessions. The discussion, marked by extraordinarily effective and even eloquent talks by rank and filers, revealed the heavy problems facing delegates on their return to their constituents. What do we say, asked Myra Wolfgang of the

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Detroit Hotel and Restaurant Workers, to our members worried about sons and brothers in Vietnam? Withdrawal is our solution, but that means little to the men actually in the mire and jungles—most of them conscripts. How do we act so as not to seem callous to the plight of those not voluntarily in conflict? Others raised the problems of war industry workers who equate war with jobs and prosperity, peace with bread lines and depression. The "planners" say the transition to peacetime economy is possible, but who believes that Congress would tolerate their programs? It was noticeable, too, that most of the delegates came from soft-goods industries—clothing, meat packing, municipal workers, etc. The outstanding exception of course were the West Coast Longshoremen, who handle most of the "hardware" bound for Vietnam (and the returning caskets). Most pervasive of all the obstacles is the unthinking support ordinary people give the warmakers because they are shielded by The Flag and the brainwashing of school, press, and radio.

One would like to hope that this brave venture of opposition to the top labor brass will achieve the acclaim and success it deserves. Actually the union movement will probably continue to lag behind the students (Senator McCarthy observed that the anti-war movement has almost seemed to be a Children's Crusade to save the country), the clergy, the professors, and other middle-class intellectuals. It is shameful that it has taken all these years for a sector of organized labor to rise in rebellion. But that at last it has done so may redress, in some measure, the good name of labor—which in past generations was the spearhead of opposition to war and imperialism. Just as important, it was heartening that the savage wounds inflicted on the unity of labor by the notorious pre-McCarthy expulsions of the left unions were healed at last in this section of the movement. May this be the harbinger of a new day when the Meanys and Lovestones will join the Gomperses and Wolls in the dustbin of labor history.

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THE VICTOR CAN ONLY BE MAO TSE-TUNG

BY BRANKO BOGUNOVICH

The study which follows of events in China was written by Branko Bogunovich, of the Yugoslav agency Tanjug. The author was correspondent in Peking from 1957 to 1960, then from 1963 to last spring, at which time the Chinese authorities refused to renew his visa. Here he presents relative to the Cultural Revolution the point of view of an observer from a Communist country which for 20 years has preserved a position of relative independence from both East and West. The article appeared in *Le Monde* of Paris on September 6, 1967; and the translation is by Paul M. Sweezy.—The Editors

Where is the cultural revolution leading? Who will emerge the victor? Although it is always risky to forecast events in China, I propose the following answers to these questions:

"The revolution has been transformed into a process which brings it closer and closer to Mao Tse-tung's teaching on permanent revolution."

"The only public and official victor can be Mao Tse-tung."

It should be added to the first answer that, despite troubles at Wuhan, Anchang, Nanking, in Sinkiang, and in other theaters of struggle, the revolution, generally speaking, is following the course traced out by Mao. It is the path of "prolonged struggle," and assuredly not the path of *Blitzkrieg*. It is the path of alternating ups and downs, of important victories and also of "defeats and repeated defeats," in the words of the resolution of the 11th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, a year ago.

All the explosions of "anti-Maoism" which have occurred recently in considerable numbers do not constitute a new or unexpected phenomenon. They have happened before, they are happening now, and in all probability they will happen in even greater numbers in the future. But what is involved is no more than episodes which have been foreseen in the framework of permanent conflict. One should not draw from them hasty conclusions about a change in the general line.

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Mao would rather die than renounce what is essential to his general line. This essential is his unshakable ambition to save China from the danger of "revisionism," now and forever.

In this context it is even safe to say that Mao does not want the process to be wound up in the near future, nor that the individuals who have "taken the capitalist road" should be replaced, nor that the militant forces should "return to their barracks" and that life should once again resume its normal course.

Such an idea and such an outcome of the cultural revolution would partake strongly of revisionism. A prolonged war, a permanent revolution, a continuous stretching and relaxing of the bow are, according to Mao's ideas, the essence of the theory of government. Otherwise there is a permanent danger of revisionism. Here one finds the essential elements of the answer to the first question.

I have often been asked: "What will happen in China when Mao has disappeared?" The question is usually asked in reference to the death of Stalin and the events which followed in the Soviet Union.

It is, I believe, a great error to make such mechanical comparisons and to draw identical conclusions. Even if the semi-official Chinese prediction that Mao will live at least a hundred years should be justified, the economic, cultural, and political situation which he would bequeath to his successors would be very different from that which Stalin left.

One can even say that to a large extent Mao precipitated the cultural revolution in order to avoid the "error" of Stalin. In China it is believed that one of Stalin's greatest errors was not to have presented before his death a "worthy heir" (*héritier valable*).

Mao is now attempting to avoid this error: he has nominated an heir presumptive, Marshal Lin Piao, who will carry on his policies. Lin will not allow China to "change color" and to take the revisionist path which, according to Mao, the Soviet leaders fell into after Stalin.

I have often answered the second question by expressing my conviction that the public and official victor can only be

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Mao. Before explaining my reasons for this belief, I should emphasize that I have never believed for a moment that the victory would be quick and easy or without costs. On the contrary, it will be a long hard battle with many maneuvers and victims on all sides.

And even then, when some day the official end and victor are proclaimed, it will still not be possible to speak of a true conclusion. Mao would be denying the very essence of his teachings on the permanent revolution if, after vanquishing one opponent, he failed to search out another.

To make all this more comprehensible, certain rectifications are necessary and certain common errors have to be corrected.

I believe that one of these errors is the widespread belief that since the beginning of the revolution Liu Shao-chi has represented the "opposition" and Mao the "government." The truth is quite different.

In fact, since the beginning of the cultural revolution Liu has been the "government" and Mao the "opposition." Liu had a majority in all the decisive organs. Mao was in the minority. It was Mao who turned against Liu and not the other way around. It was Mao who revolted against the "reactionary" majority which went along with Liu, for Mao had no choice. Mao then represented the "opposition" of the minority which ranged itself against the majority of the "government."

Because of the enormous pressure to which he was subjected by the Red Guards and by propaganda, one was inclined to see in Liu a courageous David who dared to stand up to the terrible Goliath-Mao. Actually when the battle was joined Liu had not only the slingshot but also the powerful protection of the Presidium of the Central Committee.

Of the seven members of the former Presidium, only three from the outset took a firm stand with the so-called proletarian revolutionaries. They were Mao, Lin Piao, and Chou En-lai. The four others—Liu, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chu Teh, and Chen Yun—were, at least according to Red Guard wall posters, on the other side.

Of the 17 living members of the Political Bureau elected

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at the Eighth Party Congress in 1956 (20 were elected but three have since died), 13 have been declared "bourgeois reactionaries" in the course of the cultural revolution. Of the 13 former candidate members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, all except Kang Sheng have been the target of serious attacks in this revolution.

Of the six First Secretaries of the powerful Regional Bureaus, it is known that four have opted for the "bourgeois reactionary" line. They are the First Secretary of the Southwest Bureau, Li Ching-chuan; his colleague from the Northwest Bureau, Liu Lan-tao; the First Secretary of the North, Li Hsueh-feng; and the First Secretary of the Center-South Bureau, Tao Chu (his successor, Wang Jen-chung, followed the same course).

This is a true picture of the situation in the top Party leadership at the moment when Mao "rebelled" against it because he considered it revisionist and insufficiently revolutionary. It is not hard to guess what the situation was in the whole Central Committee, which had 99 members, as well as in the powerful bureaucratic apparatus at the middle and lower levels, numbering in the millions.

This influential bureaucratic apparatus had been built up over the years by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, as well as by Mao who relied on its support until he came to the conclusion that he could no longer collaborate with it. Mao also decided that if China retained this structure it would inevitably "change color" and become revisionist.

Thus, paradoxical as it may seem, it was Mao and not Liu who was in the position of David when the cultural revolution began.

Another aspect of the problem merits a deeper analysis. Official Chinese documents say that the cultural revolution is a "fight to the death" between two lines and two contradictory schools of thought on the future course and methods of development of China. It is a struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao and the "bourgeois reactionary" line of Liu. It is a struggle between the radical representatives of the dictatorship of the proletariat and "a handful of people" in the midst of the leadership which has taken the capitalist road.

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This term "handful" is one of those which leads to most confusion. Its real meaning is that these people effectively represent a handful of "reactionaries" compared to the 700 million people of China who are revolutionaries. But it is not a question of a handful in relation to the numbers of leaders of the country: among these, it seems, there are a majority of reactionaries. If it were not so, there probably would have been no cultural revolution, and by the same token no Maoist revolt.

It is certainly a conflict between two lines, but that is not the whole story.

The truth is that involved in this conflict are contradictions and problems which took form long before the cultural revolution and even before Mao proclaimed the Peoples Republic on October 1, 1949. What is involved are the permanent separatist tendencies of the provinces and the permanent centralizing tendencies of Peking, contradictions between the developed and underdeveloped regions, between the "aristocratic" North and the "plebeian" South, between soldiers and civilians, between the big nation and the forty-odd national minorities which populate especially the frontier areas.

It is not pure chance if the most serious incidents and the most impressive manifestations of anti-Maoism have taken place in the regions where separatist tendencies are most open, or even among the leaders who represent the strongest personalities. Such is the case in Szechwan where the "local patriot" Li Ching-chuan was entrenched. The principal personality of Wuhan, in Hopei, whence have come the most recent alarming reports, seems to be Wang Jen-chung, successor of Tao Chu.

One theater of serious conflicts is frequently Sian, "kingdom" of Liu Lan-tao, First Secretary of the Northwest Bureau, who has also long since been denounced as a bourgeois reactionary. Tao Chu, former all-powerful First Secretary of the Center-South Bureau, is a typical representative of the provincial autocrats. He governed 200 million Chinese, reigned supreme over Fukien and the Vietnamese border, and had direct control of the half billion dollars coming every year from Hong Kong. In fact, he had more authority than Chou En-lai. Today he is on the other side of the barricade, following right after Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping.

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These examples illustrate only part of the problem of separatism and provincial "autocracy" which constitutes a serious obstacle to the cultural revolution.

And why are we convinced that only Mao can emerge the victor? Because all the obstacles, the problems, the opponents, the "Goliaths" are the product of a system created by Mao himself with the aid of his adversaries of today. For decades all his present opponents have done everything they could to build Mao up into a symbol which is identified with the new China. And that is why, naturally, Mao Tse-tung has remained.

Anti-Maoism is unreal. I think first of all of the hundreds of thousands of Chinese who clash among themselves and whom foreign journalists and Red Guards divide into Maoists and anti-Maoists. I am completely convinced that they themselves do not accept this distinction, and that they do not consider themselves to be anti-Maoists.

None of Mao's major opponents has dared to say in public: "I am an anti-Maoist." As a matter of fact the major adversaries of Mao—the representatives of the majority—have not declared themselves to be anti-Maoists even in restricted gatherings. They protest against the accusations leveled at them, denounce wrong "interpretations of or deductions from" the doctrine of Mao, but they never attack Mao himself. The myth of his identification with the new China has rendered Mao invulnerable in the eyes of the masses and invincible in the eyes of his opponents.

Such is the basis of my conviction that Mao cannot and will not lose a single battle. He will not suffer a single public defeat. His opponents understand that this is an imperative condition in this historic hour. The question "Who will win in the cultural revolution?" thus found its answer at the very moment when it was posed.

No country can be well governed unless its citizens as a body keep religiously before their minds that they are the guardians of the law, and that the law officers are only the machinery for its execution, nothing more.
—*Mark Twain*

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The burden of this scholarly and well-documented book is that imperialism has been not so much a form of political domination that can be ended by a new political regime, as a deeply traced pattern of economic relations which require a social revolution to alter them.

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Maxwell Geismar ends his introduction to this novel by the noted Welsh writer with these words: "As fiction, as art, as a beautiful story, it is a remarkable achievement."

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Aden, Arabie

by Paul Nizan

introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre

translated by Joan Pinkham

Nizan is the close friend of Sartre whose writings are now inspiring the youth of France. Professor Henri Peyre of Yale says: "**Aden, Arabie** will hold a lasting place among the books of meditative travel written in our age. It is written in a beautifully terse and gravely elegant prose, and its author's untimely death in World War II deprived France of one who might well have been the equal of Camus."

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The Economic Transformation of Cuba

by Edward Boorstein

Boorstein, an American economist who worked for three and a half years in the top planning agencies of the Revolutionary Government, tells a direct and dramatic story of the takeover, the operation, and the problems of a nascent socialist economy.

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Prepublication price:	**$6.00**	**50s.**
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Love to Vietnam

by Edita Morris

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Mrs. Morris's earlier novel, **The Flowers Of Hiroshima,** sold over two million copies in 24 languages, won world-wide plaudits: "This book . . . would melt a heart of stone."—**Publishers' Weekly.** "A moving book . . . sensitive and perceptive . . ."—**Saturday Review.**

Price on publication in April:	**$5.00**	**40s.**
Prepublication price:	**$3.75**	**31s.**
Associates price:	**$2.50**	**20s.**

The Chinese Cultural Revolution

Selected Documents

edited by K. H. Fan

This collection of basic documents, going back to 1937, includes Mao's "On Contradiction," his talks at the Yenan Forum on literature and art, Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War," the basic circulars and resolutions of the Chinese Communist Party dealing with cultural revolution, as well as Liu Shao-Chi's "How To Be A Good Communist" and other so-called "revisionist" texts.

Price on publication in May:	**$8.50**	**70s.**
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FOREIGN AID: THE CASE OF GUATEMALA

BY DAVID TOBIS

Experience has proven that foreign influence is one of the most pernicious enemies of republican government.
—George Washington

At one time Guatemala was called a "Banana Republic." The United Fruit Company owned the only railroad, the only public telegraph system, Puerto Barrios (the only Atlantic sea port), and 460,000 acres of arable land in the country.[1]* But today the situation is very different. The railroad and port have been sold to another United States company, the telegraph system is now owned nationally, and most of the Fruit Company's land has been sold. Criticism can no longer be leveled against one "imperialistic" foreign company.

Today there are many foreign investors in Guatemala. Conditions in the country have been made favorable for these investors. There are no transfer restrictions of any kind on foreign owned assets, dividends, and interest. There is no fixed amount of profit which must be re-invested in industry.[2] The industrial laws of 1952, which gave preferential treatment to domestic capital over foreign capital, were repealed in 1959. Today new foreign industries are exempt for ten years from payment of duties on imports of construction materials, factory machinery and equipment, raw materials, and automotive vehicles for industrial use. These industries receive exemption from payment of taxes for five years and a 50 percent reduction of taxes for the following five years.[3]

The United Fruit Company no longer controls all the

David Tobis, currently a graduate student in sociology at Yale University, spent last year studying in Guatemala on a Fulbright Fellowship.

* Footnotes will be found at the end of the article.

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foreign investment in Guatemala. But 92 percent of the $117 million of foreign investment still comes from the United States;[4] and three United States companies, IRCA (International Railroad of Central America), Empresa Eléctrica, and United Fruit Company (UFC) own 43 percent of the total.[5]

In addition to what United States companies already have invested in Guatemala, International Nickel is beginning a mining project in the eastern part of the country. In a few years the investment will be $60 to $80 million.[6] This will be the largest single investment in Guatemala. The nickel, however, will not be processed in the country and therefore will not lead to earnings for Guatemala but only for the North American company.

One of the basic problems of United States manufacturing investment in Guatemala is that it has gone exclusively into the production of consumer goods, luxury items, and only to the assembly of durable goods. This type of investment does not lead to the industrialization of the country but merely provides the means for distributing North American products.

> *The United States seems destined by providence to plague Latin America with miseries in the name of liberty.*
> —Bolívar

To perpetuate the favorable position the United States has as the principal foreign investor in Guatemala, an elaborate system of loans, called "aid," has been developed. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) loans money to Guatemala for industrial development. The requirements for receiving loans are few. The industries which are eligible are: (1) those which are not in competition with products from United States companies, and (2) those which will increase the sales of products imported from the United States.[7] In addition, if a Guatemalan industry can be developed which will stop the import of a foreign product, other than from the United States, that industry can receive a loan.[8]

Besides making loans to Guatemalan industries, the United States foreign "aid" program also makes loans to United States

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companies to invest in underdeveloped countries. As reported by USAID, Washington "will finance up to 50 percent of the cost of pre-investment surveys undertaken by United States investors."[9] The government also provides as part of foreign aid a program of investment guarantees for United States companies abroad. The aggregate of such loans is well over $2 billion.[10]

The trade relations of Guatemala with the United States have also been detrimental to the development of the country. In 1964 Guatemala imported $38 million more than it exported, and $36 million of this unfavorable balance was with the United States.[11] It is interesting to note that from 1947 to the present there have only been three years when Guatemala has had a favorable balance of trade—from 1952 to 1954, the years when Jacobo Arbenz was the President of Guatemala.[12] It was, of course, the reformist Arbenz government which was overthrown in 1954 by the joint effort of the CIA and the United Fruit Company*[13]

In an attempt to diversify the international markets with which Guatemala trades, the Central American Common Market (CACM) has been developed and is now being promoted by the United States aid program. The basic problem with the CACM is that the five Central American countries essentially produce the same commodities—raw materials and agricultural products. The goods which are traded between the Central American countries in the Common Market are primarily machinery, industrial items, and processed foods. It

* President Arbenz attempted a moderate land reform program which involved 200,000 acres of idle land owned by the United Fruit Company. This land would be paid for with 20-year bonds. That John Foster Dulles, the United States Secretary of State at the time, was the legal representative of the UFC; that his brother Allen Dulles, Director of the CIA at the time, had been president of the UFC; that Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations at the time, was on the board of directors of the UFC; that John Moors Cabot, then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was a large shareholder of the UFC; that Walter Bedell Smith, Director of the CIA before Dulles, became president of the UFC after the 1954 venture—probably had no relation to the United States involvement in the overthrow of Arbenz. See John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America,* p. 241.

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is on these items that tariffs have been eliminated in the Common Market. United States corporations are the main producers of these items in the five Central American countries. Furthermore, any producer who can provide 50 percent or more of the trade for any industry will have free-trade privileges.[14] This allows large United States firms to have near monopoly rights and makes it more difficult for new or small industries to enter the Market. Today, 48 percent of all the trade in the Central American Common Market is from United States companies.[15]

The Deputy Chief of the United States Embassy in Guatemala was asked if he felt that the CACM was a greater benefit to the United States than to the Central American countries. He replied: "The Central American Common Market is in the self-interest of the United States but fortunately our selfish interests coincide with those of the Central American countries."[16]

The United States government claims that it is attempting to help Guatemala and other Latin American countries to "develop." To this end it has organized what is called in Spanish the *Alianza para el Progreso*. In English this can be translated, the "Alliance *for* Progress" or the "Alliance *Stops* Progress." Unfortunately it is not only the name of this program that has a double meaning.

Last year, through the Alliance, the United States provided $220 million for development loans in Latin America—a truly impressive figure.[17] Most of this "aid," however, does not lead to the development of Latin America. In a booklet distributed by USAID it is reported that "about 85 percent of the United States bilateral aid is 'tied' . . . so that the money would be spent on United States goods and services."[18] Such "aid" only leads to increased markets for United States-produced goods and makes it more difficult for Latin American producers to compete in their own countries.

An example of how this "aid" works is seen in the road-building project sponsored by USAID in Guatemala. USAID and the Export-Import Bank are each providing about $6 million for the Río Hondo Road Project. This road will connect Puerto Barrios (the major Atlantic port, owned by IRCA) with Honduras. The $12 million principal plus roughly $5 million

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in interest has to be paid back to the United States in dollars, which puts a heavy burden on Guatemala's balance of payments. The machinery for the construction must all be bought in the United States. The engineers, the contractors, and the supervisors are all from United States companies. Three United States firms—Nelloteer, Poteshnick, and Harrison—are paving and constructing the road. Brown & Root Overseas, Inc., are the supervisors of the construction. When the road was begun in 1961 under an Ex-Im Bank loan, the United States company Thompson-Cornwall, Inc. had the original contract.[19] It is interesting that Thompson-Cornwall is the same company that constructed the United States airbase at Retalhuleu. This was the base from which United States planes left Guatemala for the Bay of Pigs invasion in that same year.[20]

What the United States government essentially has done through the Export-Import Bank and USAID is to use taxpayers' money to subsidize the exports of large United States companies. By the Export-Import Bank's own figures, the Bank is currently "financing 10 percent of all United States exports."[21]

The United States government claims that the road which is being built to connect Puerto Barrios with Honduras will aid Guatemala and Central America in two ways. First, the project will create jobs in the *Oriente* portion of the country where the *guerrilleros* are concentrated and "will show the *campesinos* in that area that we are doing something to help them."[22] But the money which will be spent to pay Guatemalan salaries is only a small percent of the total loan.

Second, the United States claims that the road will increase Common Market trade between the Central American countries. But Puerto Barrios is primarily used as the port of entry for United States products which are to be sold in the Central American countries. The other Central American countries have little use for the Atlantic port in Guatemala. The road will therefore be of greatest benefit to the United States companies that export to Central America.

Another way in which United States foreign "aid" helps Central American countries is seen in a project sponsored by ROCAP (United States Regional Office for Central America

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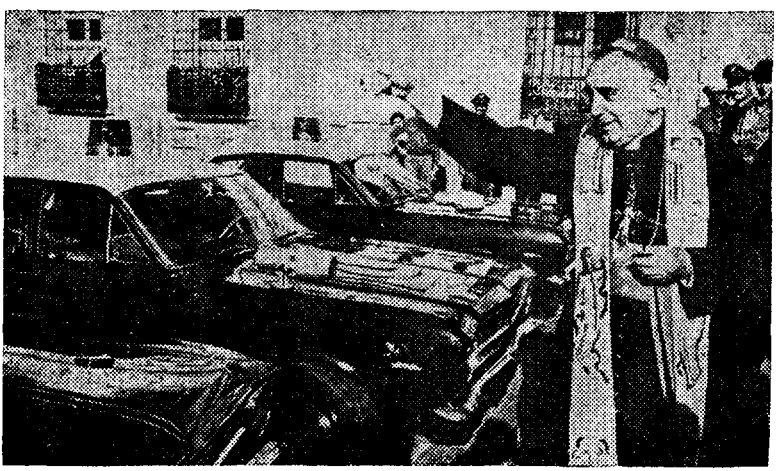
and Panama).* An important ROCAP official related this story:

The project was to build highway CA-12 in Nicaragua. It is an unimportant road except for the fact that it leads to one of Somoza's *fincas*. ROCAP officials were opposed to the project because they felt that it would not help the development of the Central American Common Market. They changed their minds, however, when representatives from the CIA told them that the road was part of Somoza's payment for allowing United States pilots who flew in the Bay of Pigs to leave from Nicaragua.[23]

Because of projects like this and because of the CIA involvement in the 1954 overthrow of Arbenz to protect the interests of the United Fruit Company, the CIA has become known as the Corporation for Investment Abroad.

A recent USAID project is also of interest. The United States lent $200,000 to Guatemala to purchase 54 Ford cars to be used by the police in fighting *guerrilleros*.[24] In addition 300 bullet proof vests were given by USAID to the Guatemalan police.[25] When the cars arrived, they were publicly blessed in the Central Plaza by the Archbishop. USAID tried to avoid



Archbishop blessing anti-guerrilla Fords

* ROCAP is similar to USAID but is for the entire Central American region.

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publicity about its participation in this project, since the United States government does not want to be openly connected with any counter-insurgency operations. But all the Guatemalan papers carried articles about the loan, and USAID's role is widely known.

In addition to the economic assistance which the United States lends Guatemala, the United States also provides equipment and money for military development. This aid, however, is not as generous as one would think. Most military "assistance" is in the sale of equipment. The Chief of the United States Military Mission in Guatemala, Colonel John Webber, reported that 7 percent of the entire Guatemalan budget each year is used to buy United States military equipment, some of which is new but most of which is used, out of date, and useless to the United States.[26] This 7 percent comes to well over $12 million a year. The United States then, through its "aid" program, sends technicians to train the Guatemalans to use the equipment they have bought. But total military aid and grants to Guatemala for the last fifteen years ($9,100,000)[27] is less than the amount of money which Guatemala spends each year to buy our surplus equipment.

The reason for this military program was summarized by Colonel Webber: "There is hardly any business of this sort with third nations. These other countries would like to get their foot in the door and make some of these sales, but they can't. There's a lot of money involved."[28]

The sale of United States military equipment is going on throughout the world. About $2 billion of United States military equipment is sold abroad annually.[29] This military build-up not only increases the possibility of international wars but also leads to internal repression within the receiving countries. And finally, the money which, for example, Guatemala spent last year for United States military equipment could have been used to decrease the 75 percent illiteracy rate, or to lower the 10 percent infant mortality rate, or to raise the average per capita yearly wage of $200.

If the United States were truly interested in developing Central and South American countries, it would pay equitable

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prices for the mineral and agricultural products of Latin America. In the past ten years there has been a 10 percent *increase* in the import price of United States products. In the same time period there has been a 25 percent *drop* in the export price of Latin American products.[30]

If the development of Latin America were the sincere desire of the United States, it would listen to the requests of the Latin American countries and eliminate "tied" loans, substituting instead tariff preferences for Latin American exports.

But this is not in the interest of United States corporations. They need consumers. If Latin America develops her own industries, their markets will be restricted. If the prices of Latin American raw materials are increased, the United States industries which are dependent on these commodities will be hurt.

Peter Valky, the Deputy Chief of the United States Mission in Guatemala, stated that "The United States basically has a foreign policy based on self-interest."[31] If this be the case, do not call "tied" loans aid; do not call "the sale of military equipment" assistance; do not talk about the Alliance *for* Progress. Do not call it the United States Agency for International Development; rather call it the Agency for International Development of the United States.

Footnotes:

1. *La Empresa Estadounidense en el Extranjero,* La United Fruit Company, 1958, p. 86.
2. *Investing in Guatemala,* Banco de Guatemala, 1966, pp. 1, 19.
3. *Industrial Laws: Economic Restrictions,* compiled by the United States Embassy, Guatemala, 1966.
4. *Sector Externo: estadísticas,* Banco de Guatemala, 1966, p. 36.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 40.
6. *Guatemala, International Development Manufacturers,* 1966, p. 23.
7. *La Empresa Privada y La Alianza para el Progreso,* USAID.
8. Interview with the manager of a large United States company in Guatemala.
9. *Foreign Aid Through Private Initiative,* USAID, p. 14.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 16.
11. *Sector Externo,* p. 19.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 3.
13. *The Invisible Government,* David Wise and Thomas Ross, 1965, ch. 11.

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14. Interview, USAID official (Industrial Section), Guatemala, 1967.
15. *World Business,* The Chase Manhattan Bank, July, 1966, p. 24.
16. Interview, Peter Valky, DCM, Guatemala, March, 1967.
17. *New York Times,* June 22, 1967, Paul Montgomery.
18. *Foreign Aid Through Private Initiative,* USAID, p. 27.
19. Interview with USAID official, and *Prensa Libre* (Guatemalan daily paper), Dec. 16, 1966.
20. *The Invisible Government,* p. 27.
21. *Export-Import Bank Fact Sheet,* 1967, p. 1.
22. Interview, USAID official, Jan., 1967.
23. Interview, ROCAP, Nov., 1966.
24. *El Gráfico,* Feb. 9, 1967.
25. *Impacto* (Guatemalan daily paper), Feb. 19, 1967.
26. Interview, Colonel John Webber, Oct., 1966.
27. USAID, Chart of Direct United States Assistance to Guatemala, 1953 to 1966.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *New York Times,* July 21, 1967.
30. *The Great Fear in Latin America,* John Gerassi, p. 30.
31. Interview, Peter Valky, DCM, Guatemala, March, 1967.

He who laughs has not yet heard the terrible tidings.

—*Bertolt Brecht*

No one, not even the most malevolent democrat, has any idea how much nullity and charlatanism there is in diplomacy.

—*Otto von Bismarck-Schoenhausen*

When a nation sets itself to do evil, and all its leading forces, wealth, party, and piety, join in the career, it is impossible but that those who offer a constant opposition should be hated and maligned, no matter how wise, cautious, and well planned their course may be.

—*Wendell Phillips*

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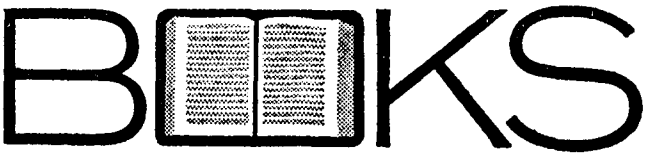

BLACK POWER

BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Black Power: *The Politics of Liberation in America,* by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton. Random House, New York, 1967; $4.95. Vintage paperback, $1.95.

In his preface to Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth,* Jean-Paul Sartre tells his intended white audience that the jig is up, that it is no longer of any use to go on telling the same white lies, because the people of the Third World, who were supposed to be deceived by the lies, no longer believe in them. In fact, Sartre argues, there are no more lies to be told. So bankrupt have the mother countries become that they are incapable of conjuring up lies qualified to deceive the type of people who have been produced by the Third World. The writers of this book, *Black Power,* are two colonial subjects in the Black Colony of Afro-America who for some time now have been free of any belief in the lies of the white mother country of the United States of America. And free from these lies they have written this book.

In the frontispiece, they have this challenging statement:

> This book presents a political framework and ideology which represents the last reasonable opportunity for this society to work out its racial problems short of prolonged destructive guerrilla warfare. That such violent warfare may be unavoidable is not herein denied. But if there is the slightest chance to avoid it, the politics of Black Power as described in this book is seen as the only viable hope.

Every revolutionary national liberation struggle, no matter in what country around the world, seems always to produce its own great book, its own manifesto, which contains the distilled revolutionary experience of its people from the very beginning to the

* Eldridge Cleaver is the author of a forthcoming book, written in Folsom Prison, California. A former Black Muslim, he is chairman of the Malcolm X Afro-American Society in the San Francisco area.

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present and projects a vision of why and in what ways the struggle must move from then on in order to be victorious. The chief function of a manifesto of this type is to define the situation; into the darkness and chaos of a revolutionary confrontation between the oppressors and the oppressed it casts its great light, and much that was hidden thenceforth becomes crystal clear. The oppressor is undressed before the world: all of the camouflage is stripped away, and the oppressor is left standing there naked in his guilt and with the people's blood still dripping from his fingers. On the other hand, the strength of the oppressed is revealed to them. That the initiative belongs to them is driven home. The manifesto, growing out of the flaming revolutionary spirit, becomes itself fuel to feed its own source. It makes the oppressors tremble because in its exposure of them they can see the end of their own game. In its searing message they see the doom of their world and the triumph of all they had sought to suppress, control, and contain. The oppressed see the same thing, but from a different perspective, and they see themselves set free; they see themselves invested with power; and beyond the apocalyptic showdown which is revealed to be at hand they can see the realization of all their dreams.

This book by Stokely Carmichael and Dr. Hamilton springs forth out of the center of the black liberation struggle in America; it is all about the black liberation struggle as it enters the new phase in which thes struggle becomes overtly political; it defines the political posture of Afro-America at the moment, evoking, to do this, a lucid picture of the total political situation in America—but from the point of view of the black colony; it points out the weaknesses and strengths of the mother country in terms of the weaknesses and strengths of the colony; and it shows how black people must move in order to break the bonds of the mother country. Essentially, this book is a manifesto for the national liberation of the black colony from the white mother country.

This book is not concerned with appealing to the moral conscience of white America. It does not try to frighten white people into giving blacks a few handouts. It does not pray for a new civil rights bill or for an increase in the appropriations for the War on Poverty. In fact the writers, despite the message on the frontispiece quoted above which is aimed specifically at white America, are talking to black people. White people can, with profit, eavesdrop on what is being said. For things to have reached this point, blacks would first have had to have grown tired of talking in vain to white America.

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In a calm but impassioned voice, this book makes its analysis and sets forth its conclusions. Those who are influenced by the perfidy of the oppressor's mass media and the diabolical image of Carmichael created by them, will expect anything touched by Carmichael to be a ranting, raving, hysterical, unreasonable broadside containing little useful information and an invitation to the ghettos to riot, to burn, and to ambush the police and firemen. They will be disappointed. Instead they will find the profound thinking of highly intelligent, disciplined, and creative minds focusing their powers on objective social phenomena. To the writing of this book, Stokely Carmichael brings to bear his training as a philosophy major who took his degree and his experience as a front-line organizer for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who endured his baptism of fire during the Bloody Summer of 1964 as a Project Director in Lowndes County, Alabama. What Carmichael does not bring in terms of academic background, Dr. Hamilton does. With degrees in Law, Political Science, and Economics, with long and intensive experience as a teacher, formerly Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Lincoln University and presently Chairman of that department at Roosevelt University in Chicago, Dr. Hamilton has brought all his knowledge to bear, all concentrated into an elucidation of the concept of BLACK POWER. White America finds it impossible to deal with Stokely Carmichael. Even less is it prepared to face Dr. Hamilton, the black intellectual who has had his intelligence insulted by the absurdities of the mother country and who has spent long years quietly but persistently getting his material and thoughts together. They're together now, captured in these pages.

During the writing of this book, Carmichael would snatch a day, two days, or a week from his busy schedule and sit down with Dr. Hamilton to sweat out each word. When it was impossible for Carmichael to come, Dr. Hamilton would hop a plane or drive long miles on the highway to get to him. In February of last year, this writer accompanied Carmichael on a visit to Dr. Hamilton's home at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Joined by Ivanhoe Donaldson who came down from New York to attend the session, the three of them sat up into the wee hours of the morning poring over what had already been written, analyzing, criticizing, and writing some more. Carmichael, intense, driven, had about him the aspect of a man who lived every day as though it might be his last. He wanted above all to finish this book,

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mindful, no doubt, of Malcolm X and *his* book and the haunting knowledge that Malcolm did not live to see it published. Dr. Hamilton, probing, asking questions and formulating answers, taking the fiery insights of grass-roots activism and casting them in classical terms. Ivanhoe Donaldson, proposing, rejecting, reopening questions thought to be closed, and adding new insights on points thought to be exhausted. I had the feeling that I was witnessing a sacred undertaking, that right before my eyes something of profound significance was unfolding. I knew that I was watching as three revolutionaries set about the work of speeding up time. In another sense I knew that what they were putting together was a time bomb and that in the not too distant future it was set to explode—right in the heart of Babylon.

That explosion is here; had this book been published earlier it would have been blamed for the uprising in Newark, for the snipers in Detroit, and for the step-up in the revolutionary tempo of Afro-America. It is sure to be blamed for the explosions in the ghettos of America which are as sure to come.

There are certain arguments which this book will lay to rest. All those who have raged against the slogan of BLACK POWER, claiming that it creates confusion while offering no positive content will have to shut their mouths and find some other way to try to torpedo the black liberation struggle. Those who cry that black people are incapable of producing an ideology to underpin their struggle will now become students of this ideology. All those police chiefs and lackeys of the white power structure who decry violence and counsel black people not to pick up the gun—the universal tool of liberation—will be amazed that the shooting did not start years ago. Those who believe in the melting pot concept of America and see the salvation of black people in their being added to the American stew will have their minds blown to discover that Afro-America constitutes a colony held in colonial subjugation by the white imperialist mother country of America. Those who think that Detroit represents an outbreak of madness and that Rap Brown is an evil magician with the curious ability to wave a magic wand that sends screaming niggers into the streets to burn down stores and shoot at the cops, will be flabbergasted to learn that white racist America fashioned the Molotov cocktails and placed them in black hands and demanded that they be tossed, that the guns in the hands of the snipers were placed there at gunpoint by white racism.

This book tells why the black liberation struggle was forced

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into new forms of expression, including armed guerrilla warfare, and shows how every conceivable non-violent tactic was met only with contempt, deception, and failure. To understand why SNCC could no longer function with white liberals and radicals in policy-making positions, one must read this book. To understand the transformation of Stokely Carmichael from a non-violent Freedom Rider who accepted head-whippings and hot coffee poured down his back by a simple-minded honkey, into the flaming revolutionary who stood before the assembled revolutionaries at the OLAS meeting in Havana and prophesied the dawn of urban guerrilla warfare in America, one must read this book.

Contained in this book is a call for new and relevant politics and a stinging denunciation of all the irrelevant politics of the past. It contains a new interpretation of American history and exposes the mendacious concoctions that in the past have been foisted off as American history. It makes clear the fact that it took a reinterpretation of history to arm black people with a concept of their true identity which, once achieved, rendered their position in Babylon intolerable; and it also makes clear that white people, before they can be released from the role of oppressor into which they have locked themselves, must also have a reinterpretation of history which will yield them their true identity. Had this book been read by the white mother-country liberals and radicals prior to their attending the recent convention of the National Conference For New Politics, their experience would have been less traumatic, for they would have been forewarned that blacks have gotten themselves together and intend to move for their liberation by any means necessary—including running roughshod over the niceties of Parliamentary Procedure in their determination not to be caught up into a trickbag by their white friends and potential allies.

This is a little book packed full of big ideas, coming at a time when black people are beginning to make news instead of having news made out of them. News concerning black people used to be all about the atrocities and outrages perpetrated against them; now it is of the initiatives taken by black people against the system that has denied them life. This book should be read by everybody in America, especially by that Super Cracker in the White House. To ignore it, to try to talk it away, will seal the doom of Babylonian America. To send out bootlickers like Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and Martin Luther King to try to Uncle Tom it away will be the crowning idiocy of an idiot nation

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so blind to human nature that it could not see that some day the slaves of America would see themselves as men and, in implacable pursuit of their manhood rights, would say, with Robert Williams: "America is a house on fire. Freedom now, or let it burn, let it burn!"

THE QUICK AND THE DEAD

BY ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

The Rediscovery of American Literature. By Richard Ruland. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967; $6.95.

For many readers, literary criticism is a remote and bloodless subject; and a critical book about literary criticism seems to approach that infinite regress which, as Aristotle once said, the mind of man abhors. Yet this volume, dealing with six critics, five of whom are now of only historical interest, is nevertheless a lively and timely one.

Richard Ruland writes with two objects and largely accomplishes both. His stated purpose is to show the underlying motivation and attitudes which informed the literary criticism of six major 20th-century rediscoverers of our literary past and determined the shapes in which they recreated it. As Ruland says in his preface: "The widespread re-examination of the national letters during the first war and interim period was based . . . not merely on a belief in the identity of the country, but on a deep-seated conviction as to the nature of reality as well."

He then proceeds to examine five once influential critics who all

> raised questions about our national identity and the function of literature that we are still trying to answer . . . they attracted large audiences for their speculation. In their hands political, ethical and literary discussion reached a high level of public relevance. . . . [This book] attempts to sustain a critical approach to these writers and to distinguish carefully between aesthetic and socio-political matters—although the critics themselves rarely bothered to admit the difference.

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* Annette Rubinstein is a literary critic and editor of *Science and Society.*

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As the book proceeds, we find that this stricture does not apply to Ruland's last and most important critic, F. O. Matthiessen, and that a serious study of Matthiessen's continuing influence, in contrast to the others' present irrelevance, is also a major if unstated part of his purpose.

The first five figures Ruland treats are Van Wyck Brooks, "Young Liberal" who searched for a "Usable Past"; Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More, "Ethical Conservatives" and self-styled humanists who upheld the "Aristocracy of Virtue"; their one-time disciple, Stuart Pratt Sherman, "Radical Conservative" who attempted to build a bridge between the stiff-necked remnant of the elect and the "Malleable Many"; H. L. Mencken, "Iconoclastic Conservative," conscious disciple of Nietzsche, and devout believer in the "Aristocracy of Efficiency."

With a host of well chosen quotations, Ruland provides a most readable demonstration that none of these critics was essentially interested in understanding or appreciating the classic American literature they exhumed or re-evaluated. They were, as Brooks frankly said, merely anxious to use it for their own purposes in forcing the present to take one shape or another.

For most students of literature, to whom this volume is primarily addressed, it is certainly necessary that Ruland develop at some length his argument of an effective socio-political bias underlying each critic's ostensibly literary judgments. Most readers of MONTHLY REVIEW would probably be willing to take such an orientation for granted, but there is still illumination as well as amusement in seeing the crass material interests so serenely displayed by the aristocrats who led the attack on the shocking materialistic motives attributed to their fictional protagonists by a Dreiser or a Dos Passos. Choosing almost at random from the wealth of illustrations the book offers, we find Babbitt declaring: "A war on capital will speedily degenerate, as it always has in the past, into a war on thrift and industry in favor of laziness and incompetence, and finally into schemes of confiscation that profess to be idealistic and are in fact subversive of common honesty."

More goes a step further, asserting bluntly that "the rights of property are more important than the right to life" and concluding: "In view of the magnitude of the interests involved, it is better that legal robbery should exist along with the maintenance of law, than that legal robbery should be suppressed at the expense of law. . . ."

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A less obvious and, for us, more important point is developed in the strange identity of opposites which emerges when we see how closely the hatred and fear of democracy and fundamental indifference to literature of these self-styled humanists is paralleled by their arch-enemy, H. L. Mencken, violent enemy of New England and champion of naturalism, whose radicalism was barely style-deep.

Far more sympathetic is the picture drawn of Brooks with his "misty socialism" and his "conviction that the arts must function as a social force, that they have the power to cure the ills of a stagnant culture." But Ruland very justly observes that even in the two or three major works of Brooks' early so-called critical period this gentle liberal's "absolute disregard for historical context" and for the intrinsic qualities of a specific piece of literature has prevented him from bequeathing us either a substantial body of critical work or the basis of a critical method.

Sherman is treated more fully, and there is considerable new material for most students in this analysis of his development from his early neo-humanist period, through the 110 percent Americanism of his stand during the First World War and his attack on "The Barbaric Naturalism of Theodore Dreiser," to his growing appreciation of such contemporaries as Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, and Dreiser himself. But Sherman's death at forty-four (in 1926) has left us little serious work from his later years, and this account of his intellectual growth is chiefly valuable for the light it sheds on the man and his time rather than on our literature.

After completing his discussion of these first five well-known critics, Ruland spends a chapter, "New Pasts for a New Present," on the general literary criticism of the late 1920's and 1930's. Here he includes Pound, Eliot, some Freudians or pseudo-Freudians, the Agrarians, and the new social approach heralded by Parrington and pursued by several Marxists or would-be Marxists.

The brief comments here on the European-oriented "elitism" of Pound and Eliot; on the more esoteric "psychological primitivism" of D. H. Lawrence, William Carlos Williams, and Ludwig Lewisohn, with its timeless symbolic emphasis; on the somewhat sociological-liberal analyses of Parrington, Granville Hicks, and V. F. Calverton; and on the regional aestheticism of the Fugitive-Agrarian-New Critics led by Ransom, Davidson, Tate, and Warren, are probably too sketchy to be fully intelligible for any but close literary students, and insufficiently elaborated to be of much

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use for them. In fact, this entire chapter seems almost a shorthand self-reminder of material for a valuable second volume dealing with the more recent past. As it now stands, it is perhaps chiefly useful as a bridge to the long concluding discussion—over half the space devoted to all five earlier critics—of F. O. Matthiessen.

Here it is the future, not the past, which is in question. At the very outset of the book Ruland takes care to anticipate its conclusion by placing his central figure at the apex of a tripod formed by the three major streams of 20th-century American criticism. He says, in the preface, that he intends to follow the earlier ideas of the New Humanists

> through Eliot to Fugitive-Agrarian-New Critics and to F. O. Matthiessen. Similarly there is a current which runs from Brooks and Mencken through Parrington and the Marxists and emerges also—frequently by way of reaction—in the work of Matthiessen. He is heir as well to the aesthetic concerns which Eliot did not share with Babbitt and More but which found their expression in the writing of Pound and the New Critics.

But despite this historical emphasis the detailed consideration of Matthiessen is primarily concerned with him not as a museum exhibit but as a practical example for burgeoning scholars.

This is, of course, the best possible approach to his work, and one which is today long overdue. His tragic death in mid-career some 18 years ago robbed American literary criticism of its most valuable proponent. Despite the great interest in American literature which has steadily increased since the late 1920's and despite the enormous amount of research in the American classics since the Second World War, there has been no scholar or critic with the solid achievement—to say nothing of the clear promise—presented by his stimulating and varied work. Strangely enough, although many colleagues and students have gratefully acknowledged his influence or thanked him for specific contributions, there has been, as yet, no full length consideration of his achievement in either literary history or criticism. As Ruland himself indicates, the present volume contains the first, but undoubtedly not the last, extended examination of that monumental accomplishment.

The epigraph for the long chapter, entitled "F. O. Matthiessen, Christian Socialist" and subtitled "Literature and the Repossession of Our Cultural Past," is a quotation from his brilliant address "The Responsibilities of the Critic." It expresses a truth which might appear a truism if we had not just completed a survey of five leading critics who uniformly ignored it. The

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epigraph says, with characteristic and deceptive simplicity: "If we are to have adequate cultural history, we must begin by respecting the texts themselves."

Ruland opens with a perceptive discussion of Matthiessen's Christianity and his socialism, relating both to his literary values. He continues with a series of comparisons and contrasts between Matthiessen and such contemporary critics as Sherman, Parrington, and Eliot, concluding that Matthiessen's "reading of the American literary past was . . . more mature, less programmatic, than previous formulations."

We then turn to a detailed consideration of his major work, *American Renaissance,* which, as Ruland says, has been the starting point for a "half-dozen or so major critical works" and has provided the basis for every "university course in American literature offered during the last twenty years." He continues that "Matthiessen's success in this book should be so nearly total is not due solely to the reach of his scholarship and the subtlety of his methods," and then proceeds on a search for the missing ingredient.

This is soon defined in Matthiessen's own words, applied by him to the five classic writers—Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, and Whitman—who constituted the subject of his *American Renaissance.* They were all characterized, he said, by their "devotion to the possibilities of democracy . . . the inalienable worth of the individual and his right to participate in whatever the community might produce." It was Matthiessen's passionate dedication to building the myth of the common man "in his full revolutionary and democratic splendor as the base and measure of society"—the words are his own—which enabled him "to break down the arid divisions between learning and ordinary existence," without sacrificing, or over-simplifying, the values of either.

The chapter on Matthiessen concludes with brief reviews of his work on Poe, Henry James, and Dreiser—a list which itself indicates his catholic taste and breadth of literary sympathy. In each of these studies, as in the vast range of his contemporary reviews, Matthiessen's analyses and interpretations illustrate his own dictum that "aesthetic criticism, if carried far enough, inevitably becomes social criticism since the act of perception extends through the work of art to its milieu."

The short final chapter of the book, "From AL to AQ" rapidly surveys changes in the status of American literary criticism from the first issue of *American Literature* in 1929 to the first

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issue of *The American Quarterly* in 1951. Here again Ruland emphasizes Matthiessen's centrality:

> No critic has so far satisfied the historians' need for fact, Canby's call for critical discrimination, Spiller's insistence on breadth, and Brooks' appeal for an approach to the past which will have contemporary relevance. If we add the perennial assertion that American Studies must find a method, the likelihood that we shall ever see such a critic becomes dim indeed. But most students of American literature will grant, I think, that more can be learned in each of these areas from F. O. Matthiessen than from any earlier American critic. Following Roy Harvey Pearce and his efforts to define "Historicism," today's Americanist will probably agree that current work can be meaningfully described as "post-Matthiessenian."

The difference between Matthiessen and the other critics dealt with in the book is clearly one of kind, not degree. In a word, it is the difference between the quick and the dead. Ruland's interesting study may well serve as a decent interment for the latter. It should certainly provide many with a stimulating introduction to the former.

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MATERIAL INCENTIVES IN SOCIALISM

In the debate on incentives in socialism, Solganick has written (MONTHLY REVIEW, March, 1966, and January, 1967):

> . . . the reason for the new reforms stems largely from just this problem: the moral standards of managers are not those of socialism. . . . What causes this behavior by managers? According to Dobb, it is a combination of a faulty planning system and "human nature." . . . It should be clear to Marxists that Dobb is not really speaking of *human* nature, but rather, he has attributed *bourgeois* nature to people in general. Greed is the hallmark of the bourgeois, not of human beings in general. . . . What can be done? . . . Will tying bonuses to profits, thereby strengthening "material incentives," rid the economy of the disease of avarice? Certainly not. All the anti-social activities of the privileged managerial stratum will be intensified and supported by the new reforms. What then can be done? . . . "Man can be re-educated. . . ." Whereas the idea in the Soviet Union is to buy people over to socialism, in China the idea is to educate them.

In the article quoted, Dobb seemed clearly to be speaking about "human nature" as it presently appears in today's socialized societies, not the bourgeois nature that Solganick seems to think he is worried about. We should remember that for Marx the "nature" or psychology of men is ultimately determined in each society by the character of the economic base of the society.

Furthermore, it seems that Solganick rather than Dobb is confused on a very basic point. *Socialism is not communism.* Marx defined a *socialist* economy as a publicly-owned economy, in which each worker is paid according to the work he accomplishes. But Marx defined a *communist* economy as a publicly owned economy, in which each person may take those goods he "needs." Dobb is clearly talking about a socialist economy, whether in the Soviet Union or China. Solganick (and

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many others) seem to be talking about a communist economy, in which the economic base and, therefore, the human psychology will be very different.

In the present-day socialist economies, especially since there are still leftovers of bourgeois psychology, workers must receive different incomes, and therefore will also continue to purchase and own different amounts of consumer goods. Marx did not believe that we could skip over this stage, nor does the Soviet experience indicate such a possibility—even though they are slowly moving toward communism (by an increasing percentage of free goods in the economy). The question has never been whether to have material incentives or not, but what kind of incentives.

Under Stalin, the manager's bonus was determined primarily by the physical quantity of goods produced. This caused many distortions in production. Some of them were due to the individual greed of managers: for example, their tendency to produce the easiest mixture of goods in the easiest possible way, regardless of costs and regardless of what society needed. Yet, other subversions of planning took place because of the manager's desire to fulfill the plan in spite of the bureaucratic obstacles in his way. Since the economy involves a million or two different commodities, the central plan could not accurately deal with all of them in detail. Often, for example, managers were told to produce a certain quantity of output, but were allotted insufficient materials to produce that output. Therefore, they often "illegally" sent men around the country to somehow find and procure the necessary materials from other firms, regardless of the plan.

The object of the Soviet reforms is to get both the managers and the society to have the same aims. In that way, there can be no conflict, even though the manager has a "greedy nature." The point is that Marx and the Soviet leadership have always recognized that such a psychology is perfectly normal for most individuals in a socialist economy, since there is still unequal (although equitable) distribution in such an economy. The new reforms base the manager's bonus primarily on the profit of the enterprise, so that the manager has an incentive

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to produce in the cheapest way and to produce those goods that consumers (whether individual or industrial) will desire. Of course, the profit of the enterprise does not go to any individual, but goes to the society for collective consumption and for further industrial expansion.

The point of the reforms is to move the Soviet economy further at a more rapid pace. This should enable the Soviet Union to complete the material and psychological bases of communism more rapidly. Education continues toward a communist morality, but a pure communist morality will not (and could not) be a basis for all economic production until the material basis and institutions of communism come into being.

The Soviet leaders correctly see this as a gradual process. By 1980 they expect a very large area of free goods covering most of the necessities of life, but wages and material incentives will still remain for the purchase of leisure goods. In this way, a communist economy may be built without asking workers and managers to act as if their psychological attitudes had progressed far beyond the actual "human nature" imposed by the current economic base. To hope that revolutionary propaganda and education alone can permanently (beyond a temporary enthusiasm following a successful revolution) provide a sufficient basis for a change in human nature is not Marxist but Utopian socialist. Thus, for China as well as the Soviet Union, a system of carefully planned material incentives, plus a slowly increasing area of moral incentives, seems to be the necessary outlook for the near future. Such a system of economic incentives, coupled with a fair degree of independence of managers in day-to-day decisions, would seem to be especially necessary when socialism comes to the vast industrial complex of the United States.

Howard J. Sherman

Professor of Economics
University of California
Riverside, California

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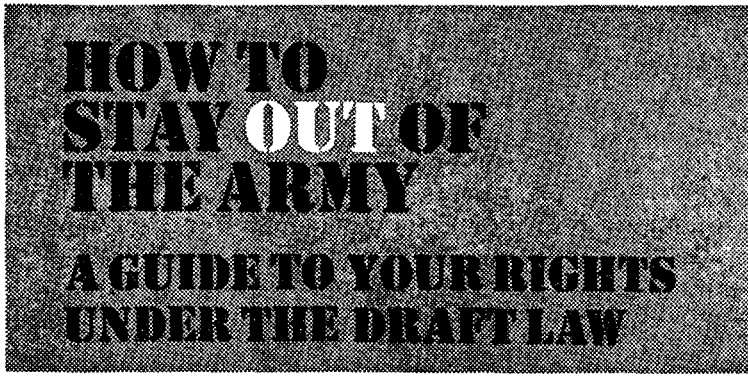

BY CONRAD J. LYNN

Conrad Lynn is one of the most experienced draft lawyers in the United States. He has specialized in draft cases since World War II.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

of MONTHLY REVIEW. It is the best survey I have seen of the Soviet scene—it is really outstanding and excellent." And an internationally famous newspaper correspondent who has spent much time in the Soviet Union told us that he hoped the issue would reach the largest possible number of Soviet intellectuals: many of them would not *like* it, but he thought they would read it and find it genuinely challenging. Reactions such as these convinced us that the issue should be made available in book form. *Fifty Years of Soviet Power* will sell for $4 (in England 33 shillings). Prepublication price—$2.75; Associates price—$2.

Other news about new books soon to be published by MR Press will be found in the ad spread on pages 38-39. As you can see, the Press is rapidly expanding its publishing program. And this means that the value to you of membership in MR Associates is equally rapidly rising. The more titles you have to choose from at half price, the greater the chances that you will want to avail yourselves of these large savings. We remind you that the minimum Associates fee (there is no maximum!) is $15, and that in addition to the half-price privilege you get an automatic renewal of your subscription to the magazine and free copies of all MR pamphlets.

One last piece of book news. Publication date for Conrad Lynn's *How to Stay Out of the Army: A Guide to Your Rights Under the Draft Law* has been set for February 29. However, the book will be ready in mid-January. In order to facilitate its use in draft resistance work, we are offering it in bundles of 25 or more at the specially low price of 75¢ (list price, $1.25). If you send in your orders on receipt of this issue, they should be filled immediately.

We had hoped to be able to include this month specific information about the new Italian edition of MR. It turned out that there was a delay in getting the first number out, and we still lack a table of contents, sub price, etc. Readers in Europe who would like to subscribe should write directly to MR Edizione Italiana, Via Achille Tedeschi 104, Roma 00157.

Similarly, readers interested in the Spanish edition of MR should write directly to: Editorial MR, Casilla 5437, Santiago, Chile. It only causes delay to address such correspondence to the New York office.

Veteran readers of MR will share our pride and pleasure at the evidence in Annette Rubinstein's review (beginning on p. 55 of this issue) that F. O. Matthiessen's stature and following in the field of American literary criticism have been steadily rising during the 1950's and 1960's. Newer and younger MR readers may not be aware that it was a generous gift from Matthiessen which enabled MR to start publication in 1949, or that we published a 154-page memorial issue in October, 1950, which contains much material indispensable to an understanding of the man and his ideas.

We greatly regret that this month's issue does not contain Scott Nearing's regular World Events "column." Scott and his wife Helen are on one of their periodic world tours, and the manuscript for the January issue got delayed in the mails and did not reach us until after the issue had been put to bed. World Events will of course resume publication in the February issue.

Readers sometimes receive notices that their subscriptions have expired after they have sent in a renewal. The mechanics of the circulation process are such that this is occasionally unavoidable. If it happens to you, don't write us right away: the chances are better than 99 to 1 that you will continue receiving the magazine without interruption.

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